2: Lorimer T-3 (1920–4; 1934–5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

is convenient. Each person has his own wooden bowl and wooden spoon. They roll up their pancakes and dip them in their bowl of thick vegetable soup or take up the soup with the spoon. The head woman of the house apportions a fair share to each, and I fear there is rarely enough to allow of second helpings.

The art of rationing the family all through the year is recognized as a difficult one; each able-bodied man is entitled to double a woman's ration, but the expectant or nursing mother gets a larger share than the other women; each child after weaning gets a certain ration according to its age.

If a *rúli gus* (housewife-in-chief) is over-generous with her rationing during the post-harvest months of plenty the whole family may starve before next year; so a "competent woman" is highly valued, and incompetence is a fair ground for divorce. No ill-will is felt or expressed, but back she goes to the father and mother who bred her.

The No. 1 Household consists of grandfather, a charming old man, who proudly boasts that he built the house they live in and himself laid out the fruit garden; his two sons, who now do all the heavy work and who both are lucky enough to have small jobs connected with the hospital—this accounts for the family's relative well-to-do-ness; the elder son's wife is my friend Bibi Gímo, the *rúli gus*; the younger son's wife is a beautiful girl Naját, who became one of our best friends. In a community where all faces are happy and kindly, she has the happiest face I have ever seen, and a natural grace of bearing and manner that would adorn any station in any country. Naját so far has no children, but Bibi Gímo's married daughter was staying with her at the moment. There is also an adolescent daughter, Shukuru, who is already growing her hair, and will no doubt presently be married; two nice boys of perhaps thirteen and nine, and the two little girls I have mentioned already, Shamúli, say six, and Banu of three or four, and I imagined there would ere long be another child.

On my second visit, since they had all been so kind to me, I took a tiny rubber ball for Banu. It was a great success. Not only she and Shamúli played with it, but the grown-ups

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4, 1934-5) 1939 AV? Burusho AV?

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

Where a couple are definitely ill-matched, or the daughter-in-law fails to fit into the family scheme, the regrettable fact is faced, the two families meet to arrange a divorce, and each party is free to remarry and hope for better luck. Nothing, however, in our Hunza observations amazed us more than the amicable relations that normally prevailed among the women of a household. There would be a mother-in-law with three or four sons' wives, all perhaps with growing families about them, an adolescent girl or two, and the herd of youngsters. They work together from dawn to dusk without argument or recrimination, and apparently without anyone's attempting to shirk her fair share of the common tasks.

An expectant mother works on in house and field till the very last, but by common consent the heavier tasks are divided amongst the others, and an extra-nourishing ration is assigned to her both before and after the baby's birth. There is no sentimental pampering of the mother, but her immediate job is the baby, and she is expected naturally to concentrate on that. When a woman's monthly affliction overtakes her, she dresses in her oldest clothes and lies immobile by the fire till she is well again. The others make *daudo* for her, a porridge of flour well boiled in water, which is reputed very sustaining, and bring it to her, saying, "Sister, eat." After two days she is herself again, takes a bath, washes her clothes, and sweeps the house; but she is not banished as a pariah nor subject to any degrading superstitions nor to any taboo not imposed by nature.

Shyly one day my friend Zénába asked me was it true that white women were immune from monthly trouble. "We notice that English ladies seem to ride and camp at all times; we have never heard of one of you having to lie up." I explained our habits and conventions, and that we made it our pride to carry on outwardly unruffled. "But surely it can't be good for you?" "I don't believe it is; but there you are; it is our custom, and we should think it shame if the household noticed any difference in our behaviour. It sometimes makes us cross and fretful perhaps, and then our menfolk just think how unreasonable women are." She laughed heartily: "So that's how it is; we've always wondered; but I think our way is better."

rooted. (Metaph.) *myös tal kalirlo* 000
sorrow, *or misfortune* has fallen on me. QUB. Perhaps also under this head come the expressions: —
. . . *tal kalirlo* I, you, etc., have become hungry, *shamine yerrsent*. . . . *tal dovrila* — *gurl wali bi* (you) have become hungry (?). QUB.

b. Palate. *yafem tal* roof of mouth.

c. Eyelid (upper). *orltine yafem tal* my eyelid. (Cp. 8b. *tal* ceiling, *lorlo* palate).

2. *tal* -ig, N. -*mig*, y birch tree.

3. *tal* -*go* a pigeon. — *talo taljo* . . . *darmis* seven pigeons have come. 12.16. *taljirö dargan* seven pigeons have come. 148.6.

4. *tal* stagnant, standing, slow-flowing. — *tail tal* **mastrilo** the water has become spread out like a lake, or marsh (N. *jhil*). *sinda tal* the slack (water) of the river(?).

5. *tal* -*org* y **cranberries**, bilberry.

tlalo gently, slowly, quietly, softly. — *tlalo tlalo eli* do it gently.
tlalo gelshavas to go along slowly.
tlalo vavas to speak low, whisper.
gorvaivastarn asarna tal o dur aroglai the wolfish enquiries of the bride quietly, in a low voice. 222.18.

talorg y divorce. — *talorg* °-*rlai.as*, — *-alas*, 5860
— *d'ilavas* to divorce s.o. *Pran yavnar talorg mariövai* he divorced her.

The customs of divorce are stated to be as follows: When a man divorces his wife he presents her with five rupees, representing the old *darlo pais* (v. s.v. *darl*). He then goes to make payment to the authorities. He pays the *Mir* : *lavi*, i.e. R. 12, but the Waxir and his staff come to receive it in place of the Mir.

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● 586 The divorcing husband has further to provide six portions of butter, one for the Mir, one for the Wazir and one each for the Muqaddams of the "Four Tribes". One of the last is designated by the Mir "ayuru" (senior) for a period of 2, 3, or 4 years. The Mir passes on his butter to this Muqaddam, and the Wazir bestows his on some friend. These portions of butter are called *phatka* q.v.

Women used to be able to divorce their husbands if they had no children within two years (presumably when this was owing to failure on the man's part).

They can still be given divorce by order of a tribal council (*jirga*), but the right is seldom granted.

Bevaki talaq, "Dom's divorce". This term is applied to the divorcing of a wife on account of bad conduct. In this case her dowry is not repaid to her and neither *dard* nor *phatka* is given by the divorcing husband. He may on the other hand recover a fine from the wife's father. The Doms themselves had originally no divorce and did not pay taxation. The Mir has now introduced them to both these amenities of the higher civilisation. Av. Pva.

ooo *talawa, tal'aa -mala* shallow (of water, bowl etc.). — *tal'aa khapra* shallow spoon. EOL.

1. *talavi* search, seeking for. — *thamaar talavi shawaa* they searched for a King. 396.2. Pva.
2. *talavi, talai* effort, endeavour; haste; quickly, without delay. —
talavi oli make haste, hurry.
talavi se ja come quickly, come at

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when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

586 The Hunzan law says that in such cases a child must remain with the mother until it is at least 10 years of age. Of course the child can remain with the mother after that period, too, but the father does not have to pay for its keep after that. Divorce is granted to a man only on the grounds of adultery.

Under Hunzan law a woman cannot get a divorce due to any action on the part of her husband. How-
[643] ever, on some occasions where there has been extreme provocation or other clear logical reasons, and the woman brings her justifiable complaint for divorce before the Mir in person, and if the Mir believes her case merits divorce or separation from the man, he will ask or demand of the man that he divorce his wife.

If the wife decides or wants to leave her husband's bed and board of her own free will, the husband does not have to pay for her keep. She will not receive sustenance from him, but he does have to supply her with clothing twice a year.

587 In the event of the death of his wife, the husband is required to wait two months and seven days before he can remarry. However, with the woman, in the event of the death of her husband, she must wait three months and ten days before she can remarry.

586 683 The Mir gave me an example of a divorce case where a certain man had the insidious habit of beating his wife. It seemed he would administer a sound thrashing at the slightest, or even without provocation, until the girl's parents and friends began to fear for her life. In this instance the wife-beater was notified quite clearly and distinctly that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if he gave his wife a divorce.

586 I don't know in what light they regarded this, but now that they knew the man was an avowed wife-beater, if any other woman took the risk of marrying

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him, she would at least know beforehand what she had to contend with. Then again, as the Mir performs all marriages, maybe he wouldn't allow this young man to take a second wife. I did not inquire any further into the details concerning this case, but I admit that I was somewhat surprised to think that a good healthy happy Hunzan would resort to one of civilization's favorite pastimes . . . wife-beating.

Wife-beating generally seems to be broadly practiced in Hunza. This struck me as being most strange for I could see little cause or likelihood of opportunities for misdemeanors on the part of the wife.

Upon taking the matter up with the Mir, he told me that most cases of wife-beating were brought about by nagging, and in Hunza that is sufficient justifiable cause for a man to administer a sound thrashing to his wife and she can't take him to the Mir's court about it, either. The next most frequent cause for wife-beating is over-generosity to her parents with her husband's possessions.

Wife-beating under such provocations as stated might meet with universal support and approval on the part of mankind. There may be principles and practices in Hunza that will not find widespread support in the West, but I'll bet on the basis of the two causes for wife-beating there will be broad, if not general, male approval.

By Hunza law a daughter cannot inherit property. The best that she can get in a property settlement is the use of the property for her lifetime. It then must revert to a male member of the father's family. There have been instances where a daughter has been willed an individual tree—in most cases, an apricot tree. This remains her property, or at least the crops do, for as long as the tree or she lives.

584 Marriages are not arranged against
586 the will of either party, and although
divorce is legally very easy for men
593 or women, it is not common. Women
are neither abused nor overworked,
and the mother is the respected chief
of the house, as the father is of the
[581] farm. Marriage does not encompass
[562] companionship as we know it: men
spend their spare time in the company
of other men, and women visit exclu-
562 sively with other women. They hold
535 their dances on separate threshing
floors a half-mile or so apart, on the
same night, and woe betide the eager
teen-age boy who dresses in his sister's
clothes and sneaks into a girls' dance.

262 At the time of the Tumushuling,
[296] and only then, Hunza families
[231] butcher a sheep or two; cold weather
[251] preserves the meat for the few days
before it is all eaten—and it *is* virtually
all eaten. Even the long bones are
cracked to extract the last marrow.
After this taste of meat, the winter of
the dietary year sets in. Gradually the
supply of carrots and potatoes fails,
then the wheat, the barley, the dried
[148] apricots, and the tea. By springtime
the poorer folk may eat only once in
two days. No one starves to death, but
no one has enough to stop hunger.

146 The regular Hunza diet has no fats,
no animal protein, no vitamin A, no
vitamin D, a deficiency of vitamin B,
and a serious deficiency of calcium.
Apricots contain some sugar and vita-
min C, but the poorer families are un-
245 able to raise large crops. (The size
556 of apricot orchards determines a
man's wealth and status.) Hunzas use
372 every bit of the apricot, as they do of
824 the sheep. They cut the pits from the
fruits, crack them, and remove the al-
[412] mond-like nuts. The women hand-
grind these with stone mortars, then
squeeze the meal between a hand-stone
[359] and a flat rock to express the oil. Apri-
cot oil is fuel for the saucer-shaped
lamps that illuminate their homes, as
lamps of this type have done since the
824 Bronze Age. The oil is very bitter, na-
278 turally enough, because of its high
content of prussic acid, fifty drops of
which are said to be lethal in about
[273] four hours. Men add a few drops, as
bitters, to their wine, and occasion-
[262] ally a despondent woman takes a dose
in order to commit suicide.

164 Mild cases of rickets and scurvy
146 are rampant every spring—not enough
to kill, just enough to loosen teeth,
cause aching knees, and deform ribs